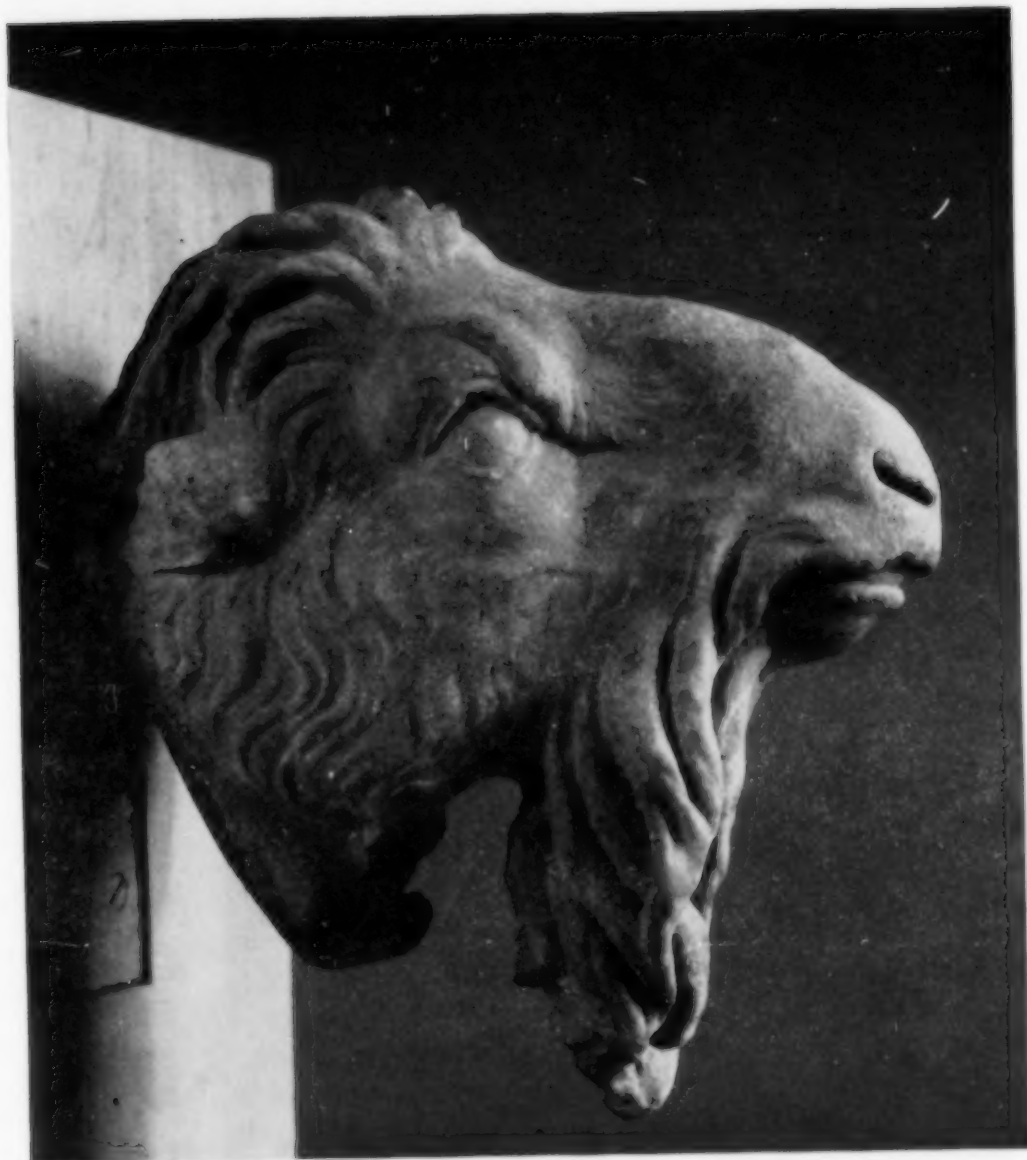


RECORD OF THE  
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## “WELCOME BACK, WILLIAM”

WITH memories of photographers' flash bulbs and officials' speeches fresh in his mind, William is back in Princeton and comfortably settled on his stand in the entrance hall of the Art Museum. His departure over a year ago was an occasion of regret: he had won the affection of many and somewhere along the line picked up the title of "Billy the Goat." His return, through the courtesy and generosity of officials in Rome and in this country, was an occasion of great pleasure. Now that he is back, there is an additional glint in his eye and his pedestal is marked from all others by a brass plaque which tells his story:

"Lost in the 1943-45 Italian campaign, the head eventually reached American shores and The Art Museum, Princeton University. Later, Princeton authorities identified it and restored it to the Museo dei Conservatori in Rome to which it belonged.

"In 1953 the Mayor of Rome presented the head to Princeton University in memory of the outstanding work of American scholars in protecting works of art in Italy during the tragic days of war, and in token of friendship for an institution of learning in which the memory of Rome is rightly honored."

F.F.J.

The head is published by H. Stuart Jones, *Catalogue of the Palazzo dei Conservatori*, p. 104, no. 48, and pl. 39. At Princeton, the piece is registered under the number 48-58; it was purchased with the John Madean Magie and Gertrude Magie Fund; the height, from top of head to tip of beard, is 0.265 m.

## A SACRAMENTAL TRIPTYCH FROM SPAIN

ONE of the more distinctive acquisitions by the Museum in the past year is a little painted triptych, just over two feet in height, which glorifies the institution of the sacrament of Holy Communion, and the sacrifice of Christ. (Fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> Attributable to Antonio de Comontes, early sixteenth century Castilian painter in the city of Toledo, the portable altarpiece is of notable iconographic interest in that lengthy texts claim a large portion of the space, in a manner unique in late mediæval altarpieces so far as we know.<sup>2</sup> It has been presented by a perennial benefactor of the Museum, Carl Otto von Kienbusch '06, for the C. O. von Kienbusch, Jr., Memorial.

The three texts present are transcribed from the ordinary of the Mass. Painted in gold Roman letters against a black background, these are: on the left wing, the *Gloria in excelsis* . . . , on the right wing the Nicene Creed (*Credo in unum Deum* . . . ), and in the middle of the central panel the words from the canon of the Mass pronounced by the priest upon the elevation of the Host: "For this is my body. For this is the chalice of my blood of the new and eternal Testament; the mystery of faith; which shall be shed for you, and for many, for the remission of sins."

This text is illustrated by the "Last Supper," immediately beneath it (Fig. 3). Seated at a U-shaped table in a charming loggia—and in this respect reminiscent of Ghirlandaio's in-

<sup>1</sup> Accession Number 53-49. Height, 0.62 m.; full width, 0.60 m. Tempera on panel.

<sup>2</sup> There are half a dozen or so small, Flemish triptychs of the late 15th and early 16th centuries with inscriptions instead of pictures on the wings. Nearly all have as subject matter the Madonna and give either the "Ave Sanctissima Maria . . ." prayer, or else the "Foelix es sacra Virgo" prayer, which is the response after the third lesson of Matins in the shorter office of the Virgin. (Illustrated in *Les Primitifs Flamands I, The National Gallery, London*, I, Antwerp 1953, No. 45; and *Les Primitifs Flamands II, Collections d'Espagne*, Antwerp 1953, Nos. 23 & 31.) A small triptych by Lucas van Leyden, with the "Beheading of John the Baptist," has wings with appropriate inscriptions in gold Roman letters on a black background. The wings are supposed to have been added later to this early work of Lucas, painted ca. 1510 (now in the Johnson Collection, Philadelphia Museum of Art; Valentiner, *Catalogue* . . . , 1913, vol. II, no. 413). The textual matter on none of these is so extensive as on the Princeton triptych, which almost effects the illusion of three pages from an illustrated book.



scenation of the theme in Florence—are the twelve Apostles. Of the two seated before the table, the one on the right who reaches for bread and conceals a moneybag behind his back is, of course, Judas. Clothed in a purple robe, and barefoot like His disciples, Christ is shown holding the bread in His left hand, while the other is in front of His chest in the gesture of blessing. It is the moment when the Lord pronounces the first words of the text above, *Hoc est enim corpus meum*. To emphasize the dogmatic import of the moment, Christ is depicted solemnly *standing*, an unusual variation in art of the normally seated Christ, and a treatment preferred by Comontes' master Juan de Borgoña and his followers.<sup>3</sup>

A beautifully painted, miniature-like series of landscapes beyond the loggia depicts a mountainous terrain with a castle and windmill, solitary wild animals, and two figure groups. In the second opening on the left, one discovers the precursor of Christ, John the Baptist, who points to the Lamb of God near his feet; and opposite on the right, a group of three men, one with a jar of water which he has filled from a stream of water issuing from the rock behind him. This quite likely is an allusion to (if not the representation of) that salvation episode in the Old Testament when Moses produced a miraculous issue of water for his thirsting people.<sup>4</sup>

To amplify the theological exposition in small scenes atop each of the wings of the triptych, Comontes selected two of many possible Old Testament prefigurations of the Eucharist (Figs. 5-6). These are two of the three which are mentioned in the canon of the Mass (in the *Supra quae* oration after the consecration): "Melchisedech's Sacrifice of Bread and Wine before Abraham," and "Abraham's Sacrifice of Isaac." The Melchisedech scene, on the right, is solemnified by the presence of an altar, upon which are the bread and wine to which he prays. The use of an altar in this scene is rather rare in art, and its

<sup>3</sup> See Chandler Post, *A History of Spanish Painting*, Cambridge, Mass., IX, Part I, 1947, figs. 58, 86, 90; L. Font, *La Eucaristía*, Barcelona, 1952, fig. 99. The reader will recall that a standing Christ actively administers the sacramental wafer to the Apostles in the famous 15th century paintings of Justus van Ghent, in Urbino, and of Fra Angelico in the Florentine Convent of San Marco (M. Vloberg, *L'Eucharistie dans l'art*, Grenoble, 1946, pp. 92, 95).

<sup>4</sup> This suggestion has been made by Professor Justus Bier of the University of Louisville.



Fig. 1. Triptych in Princeton

ostensible purpose was to allude to the Church ritual of the Mass.<sup>5</sup> Atop the left wing, opposite, is the bloodless sacrifice of the Patriarch Abraham, wherein a ram was substituted for Isaac. It has always been by far the most celebrated sacrifice in the Old Testament and was applied to the mystery of the Eucharist as early as the time of the catacomb frescoes.<sup>6</sup> The picture relates directly to the "Crucifixion of Christ," which

<sup>5</sup> The device is a time-honored one, however, as testified by the use of an altar in the choir mosaic of Melchisedech in San Vitale. In the 15th century an indication of its infrequency is given in the fact that of more than 350 extant manuscript copies of the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, where the scene is used as a prefigure or prototype of the Last Supper, only about one percent introduce an altar (E. Breitenbach, *S.H.S.*, Strasbourg 1930, p. 170, n. 2).

<sup>6</sup> Vloberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 11 ff.



Fig. 2. Triptych in Barcelona

the artist set in a rugged yet lyrical landscape. Crowning the projecting portion of the central panel of the triptych (Fig. 7), the Crucifixion is flanked on the left by the "Gethsemane" scene, in which an angel proffers a chalice to the praying Christ, and on the right by the "Resurrection" of the Lord from a sealed tomb. In very small-scale detail in the background of the Gethsemane scene are the three disciples (a provident Peter asleep with his hand on the hilt of a dagger!) and Judas leading the group of Roman soldiers in the distance; while at the right the three Marys approach the tomb of the Saviour. The mantle of Christ, replacing the royal purple robe worn earlier, is now a bright red, signifying His victory over death.

In predella fashion below the featured scene of the "Last Supper" is the "Entry of Christ into Jerusalem" on Palm Sun-



Fig. 3. Detail of Figure 1

day. The participants are all given in half-length, in the accustomed fashion for this area of an altarpiece. Once again Comontes, with his interest in details, does the unusual in rendering the "colt, the foal of an ass" of which Matthew alone of the Evangelists speaks, behind the ass upon which Christ rides. And to his "zoological garden" the artist has added a leopard and a lion in the landscape behind Peter and the other disciples following Christ in solemn procession.

In the predella rectangles on either wing have been painted





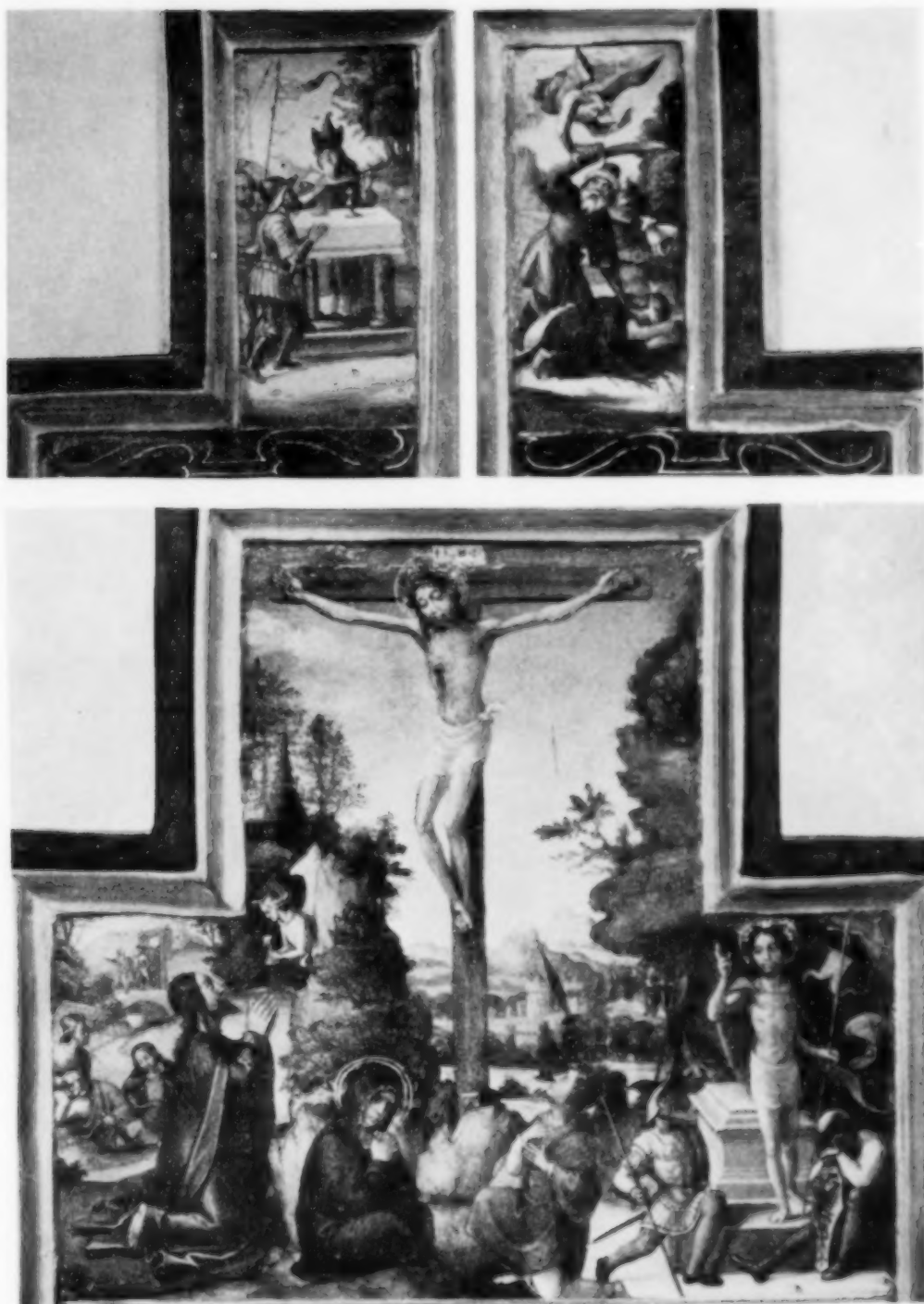
Fig. 4. Retable in Church of Fuente el Sauz

the coat-of-arms of the original owner, in each case upon a shield supported by winged, Italianate putti. We have not been able to identify the arms specifically, although the central *sur le tout* device (five stars gules on or) belonged to—among others—a number of Castilian families named Fonseca. One member, Alonzo de Fonseca, was Archbishop of Toledo and a patron of Juan de Borgoña at the time this triptych was painted.<sup>7</sup>

Interestingly enough the same coat-of-arms is found in quarter

<sup>7</sup> Another member of the family in Toledo, one Antonio, married a lady of the family Ulloa, whose armorial bearings are the same. Our thanks for assistance in this matter are due to the Librarians of the Hispanic Society in New York City.





Figs. 5-7. Details of Figure 1

upon a triptych which is a near replica of ours, in the Torelló Collection in Barcelona (Fig. 2); and thus the two paintings were very likely, and logically, commissioned by relatives. That

indefatigable historian of Spanish painting, Chandler Post, recently discovered and briefly published both triptychs, reproducing only the Torelló one in the Appendix to Volume X of his monumental *A History of Spanish Painting*.<sup>8</sup> He attributed the pair to the first and probably best pupil of Juan de Borgoña, Antonio de Comontes, whose works Mr. Post earlier convincingly separated from the *oeuvre* of the Master.<sup>9</sup>

A stylistic comparison between our "Last Supper" (Fig. 3) and the same scene painted by Comontes for a retable in the parish church of Fuente el Sauz (Fig. 4) reveals undeniably, we feel, the hand of the same artist.<sup>10</sup> In both are the same large-headed figures, with eyes spaced widely apart, and a predilection for the rendering of heads in absolute profile. In fact many of the figures are the same, with minor changes. That Antonio remained closely affiliated with, or at least was continuously influenced by, Juan de Borgoña for more than a quarter of a century may be indicated in the fact that a "Resurrection" panel by Juan, in the Convent of S. Juan de la Penitencia in Toledo<sup>11</sup> was evidently the model for the Christ figure which Antonio paints in the same scene on our triptych (and which is different in the Torelló variant). Post dates the Juan de Borgoña painting late in the artist's career, around 1527-8, which would be a *terminus post quem*, or even perhaps the approximate date, for the Princeton painting.

Both triptychs are of about the same size and arrangement. In place of the texts, the Torelló version has a decorative frieze separating the "Last Supper" from the "Crucifixion" and on the wings, squeezed into vertical rectangles, the scenes of the "Betrayal" and "Lamentation over the Dead Christ." In lieu of the putti with coats-of-arms in the predella portion of the Princeton wings, the Torelló painting has bust-length figures of Gabriel and the annunciate Virgin Mary; and in the predella "Entry into Jerusalem" the direction in which Christ moves is reversed, with our version demonstrating more details and at the same time a greater clarity in the spatial organization of the parts. The same is generally true in all of the scenes: for example, the Torelló Christ in the "Last Supper" appears to be bearing the weight of the lintel of the loggia behind Him,

<sup>8</sup> 1950, pp. 406-408, fig. 168.

<sup>9</sup> Vol. IX, part I, 1947, pp. 277 ff.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 289 and fig. 86.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, fig. 60.

whereas the landscape vista is amplified to give space above the head of the Lord in our version; and again, wider "ears" atop the Princeton wings give breathing room to the Old Testament figures, whose actions are sorely cramped in the version in Spain. These factors naturally suggest that Comontes, with two chances at the same subject, could make additions and emendations, which he felt would improve the product, in a second version; and this, we believe, is the one now in the Art Museum.

Two details on the armor of the guards at the tomb of the "Resurrected Christ," neither of which is present in the Torelló version, are worthy of comment (Fig. 7). The first is an epigraphical puzzle: on the cuirass of the soldier at the left are the letters SCPQR, instead of the customary SPQR (*Senatus Populusque Romanus*). The added "C" is presumably no mistake on the part of the artist, since he paints the correct abbreviation elsewhere.<sup>12</sup> But its meaning must remain for the moment enigmatic. The second detail, the two-headed eagle on the shield of the guard asleep at the right, is frequently encountered in Spanish art of the sixteenth century. Like the abbreviation, it is used by Comontes as a symbol of the ancient Roman Empire, although very likely the artist was also aware of it as a token of Spain's new connection with the Holy Roman Empire, whose destiny was guided by Charles V during Comontes' lifetime.

Chandler Post has made the interesting observation that the triptych, with its lengthy inscriptions, "affords a prototype of the cards with parts of the text of the mass now placed upon altars for the assistance of the celebrant."<sup>13</sup> Its small size suggests that it was probably used for home devotion, and of course it would have been suitable for travel. Its present excellent condition (apparently only the frame has been repainted) would indicate that it did not travel much—at least until modern times when it went from Spain via Hungary to New York and Princeton, where it will find an appreciative audience.<sup>14</sup> R.A.K.

<sup>12</sup> E.g. on a soldier's banner in a "Crucifixion" panel in the Museum of Valladolid; illustrated in Post, *loc. cit.*, fig. 85. The SC recalls the abbreviation on Roman bronze coins.

<sup>13</sup> *Op. cit.*, vol. X, p. 408.

<sup>14</sup> Ex Collections Baron Kuffner de Dioszegh, Hungary (*Dutch and Flemish Old Masters*, Parke-Bernet Galleries, Nov. 18, 1948, Sale No. 1080, No. 12); and Alan Wolfe (*Dutch and Flemish Paintings and Drawings*, Parke-Bernet Galleries, April 15, 1953, Sale No. 1430, No. 29).

A DRAWING BY PIETRO DA CORTONA  
FOR HIS FRESCO OF THE *AGE OF IRON*

IN July 1637 the Italian painter and architect Pietro da Cortona stopped in Florence on his way north to study painting in Bologna and Venice. Pietro had already begun in 1633 his great project to fresco the vault in the *salone* of the Palazzo Barberini at Rome, but he interrupted this work in order to take advantage of the journey to Bologna of his patron Cardinal Giulio Sacchetti, who had just been appointed Papal Legate to Bologna. Cortona's training had been confined to work with artists only from Florence and Rome, so that he desired some acquaintance with the work of the painters of the Renaissance and early Baroque schools of North Italy.

The fame of Pietro da Cortona, based on his earlier paintings for the Marchese Sacchetti and the unfinished Barberini ceiling, accompanied him to Florence where the Grand Duke of Tuscany, Ferdinando II de' Medici, immediately requested the artist to decorate one of the rooms in the Palazzo Pitti. He was commissioned to fresco the walls of the small Sala della Stufa with the four ages of history as first related in Hesiod's *Works and Days*. However, the Renaissance and Baroque periods undoubtedly took this subject from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (Book I, 89-150), which was one of the most popular source books for Italian artists. This is also indicated by the fact that Ovid specifies only four ages, the Age of Gold, the Age of Silver, the Age of Bronze, and the Age of Iron, while Hesiod actually had a fifth period, the Age of Heroes, between the Ages of Bronze and Iron. The subject for these frescoes was probably suggested by Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger, the poet grand-nephew of the artist Michelangelo at whose home Pietro stayed during this visit to Florence.<sup>1</sup>

In a letter of July 20, 1637 to the Cardinal Barberini<sup>2</sup> Cortona relates that he is "to make two pictures in fresco for His

<sup>1</sup> The eighteenth century *Serie degli uomini i più illustri nella pittura, scultura, e architettura con i loro elogi, e ritratti* (X, Florence, 1774, p. 54) claims that Buonarroti submitted the subject. Cortona's residence with Buonarroti is mentioned in one of the former's letters to the Cardinal Barberini, see G. Bottari and S. Ticozzi, *Raccolta di lettere sulla pittura, scultura ed architettura*, V, Milan, 1822, pp. 311-313, letter no. CXIV.

<sup>2</sup> H. Geisenheimer, *Pietro da Cortona e gli affreschi nel Palazzo Pitti*, Florence, 1909, pp. 17-18.





Fig. 1. Drawing in Princeton

Highness, of which one is the age of gold and the other of silver, and by the end of August I will have surely finished them." Another letter to the Cardinal, dated September 13, 1637,<sup>3</sup> states: "I have brought to an end two stories in fresco, I only need to retouch them, one of which is that of the [Age of] Gold, and the other of Silver. In this room there is missing those of Bronze and of Iron." He adds that to finish the latter

<sup>3</sup> G. Bottari and S. Ticozzi, *op. cit.*, pp. 311-312.





Fig. 2. Fresco in the Palazzo Pitti

would require two more months, which was the time necessary for the first two frescoes. Pietro, however, left the Sala della Stufa unfinished and continued on to North Italy. By the end of the year he had to rush back to Rome for fear that his incomplete work in the Palazzo Barberini might be taken away

from him by his assistants.<sup>4</sup> The Barberini ceiling was then completed late in 1639. This permitted Pietro to return to Florence in the summer of 1640 where he quickly finished the two frescoes of the *Age of Bronze* and the *Age of Iron*.<sup>5</sup> The success of the Sala della Stufa brought to the artist the important commission to decorate the ceilings of seven of the chief rooms of the Palazzo Pitti, of which three were completed by the master from 1641 to 1647, while two others were in part or totally the work of his pupil Ciro Ferri.

In the great collection of drawings left to the Art Museum of Princeton University by the late Dan Fellows Platt '95, is one correctly attributed to Pietro da Cortona (Fig. 1) which is closely related to the fresco of the *Age of Iron* in the Sala della Stufa (Fig. 2) and must be a preliminary drawing for the painting.<sup>6</sup> Like a drawing in the Uffizi Gallery at Florence,<sup>7</sup> which is similarly related to the fresco of the *Age of Gold*, the sketch at Princeton was executed first in red crayon and then completely retouched in ink. The proportions of the two drawings are much shorter and wider in format than the proportions of the finished frescoes, which suggests that both drawings were very early sketches in the development of the paintings. This is also indicated by the many differences between the drawings and the frescoes.

It seems most probable that the Princeton drawing was created, along with the Uffizi study, during Pietro da Cortona's first visit to Florence in 1637. The drawing is much more classic in its composition than the later fresco. In the drawing the action runs parallel to the picture plane and is stopped at

<sup>4</sup> T. H. Fokker, *Roman Baroque Art*, London, 1938, I, p. 227.

<sup>5</sup> H. Geisenheimer, *op. cit.*, p. 3 and note 1.

<sup>6</sup> Accession number 48-772; 0.312 x 0.257 m. F. J. Mather, Jr., "The Platt Collection of Drawings," *Bulletin of the Department of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University*, June 1944, p. 4 and fig. 2. According to an inscription on the mount the drawing was once owned by William Young Ottley, the early nineteenth century writer and artist who was Keeper of Prints in the British Museum.

<sup>7</sup> O. H. Giglioli, "Disegni inediti . . . nella R. Galleria degli Uffizi," *Bollettino d'arte*, ser. 2, II, 1922-1923, pp. 514-515 and pp. 520-521, and A. Stix, "Barockstudien," *Belvedere*, IX, pt. 2, 1930, pp. 181-182, fig. 123, who also published a more finished drawing in the Albertina at Vienna (fig. 122) for one of the female figures; for this latter drawing see A. Stix and L. Fröhlich-Bum, *Beschreibender Katalog der Handzeichnungen in der graphischen Sammlung Albertina, III. Die Zeichnungen der toskanischen, umbrischen und römischen Schulen*, Vienna, 1932, p. 71, no. 704, and pl. 158.

each side, at the left by the rolled-up body of the dead girl which carries the action back into the picture and at the right by the standing man with his back to the margin who is tearing the jewels from the hair of a woman. There is then an opening in the center of the composition allowing the eye to go back to the sketchy representation of architecture, which is also parallel to the picture plane. The structure of the drawing is, therefore, very like the earlier paintings of the *Rape of the Sabines* and the *Triumph of Bacchus*,<sup>8</sup> which he made in the late twenties for the Marchese Sacchetti. In the fresco of the *Age of Iron* Cortona has, on the other hand, stressed the diagonal accents which were only intimated in the drawing. This is particularly so in the treatment of the outstretched arms of the soldier who is the central protagonist, so that the main accent goes diagonally up the arms of the soldier from the head of the old man sprawled at the right foreground to the head of the priest attacked by the youth with a spear at the foot of the statue in the left mid-distance. He also reversed the group at the right so that it paralleled the main diagonal and did not stop the action so abruptly at the right frame. He moved the vista to the edge and shifted the columns, over which a wind-blown curtain reflects the violence of the scene.

If, as has been suggested, the Princeton drawing was made during the development of Cortona's first ideas in 1637, his trip to North Italy intervened between the drawing and the fresco. During this trip north the artist was particularly impressed by the works of the painter Titian, as, according to Pascoli,<sup>9</sup> he brought back with him several paintings by Titian. It is possible that it is this new experience of the more dynamic compositions of Titian which appears in the later fresco of the *Age of Iron* in contrast to the more classic compositions of the Central Italian Renaissance painters Raphael and Polidoro da Caravaggio which were Pietro da Cortona's earlier inspiration.<sup>10</sup>

David R. Coffin

<sup>8</sup> H. Voss, *Die Malerei des Barock in Rom*, Berlin, n.d., pp. 240-241.

<sup>9</sup> L. Pascoli, *Vite de' pittori, scultori, ed architetti moderni*, facsimile of ed. of Rome 1730, Rome, 1933, p. 6.

<sup>10</sup> G. B. Passeri, *Die Künstlerbiographien von Giovanni Battista Passeri*, (Römische Forschungen der Bibliotheca Hertziana, vol. X), ed. by J. Hess, Leipzig and Vienna, 1934, p. 374.

## BUDDHA ON EARTH AND IN HEAVEN

IN the Art Museum there is a Chinese Buddhist stele, unpretentious in appearance, yet of unique interest for the students of Buddhist art (Fig. 2 and Cover).<sup>1</sup>

The stone measures 0.73 m. in height. The base dimension is 0.495 m. x 0.135 m. The left side of the stone has been chipped off about one centimeter along the edge, apparently as a result of the re-use of the stone in 1589 A.D., when the back of the stone was given an inscription to commemorate a deceased old cypress tree (Fig. 1).<sup>2</sup> To this misdeed we may also attribute the damage suffered by parts of the central composition.<sup>3</sup> The central Buddha image and the four attending figures, however, have remained intact, for they are safely placed in a deep recess carved into the surface of the stone. The Buddha sits on the lotus throne<sup>4</sup> with his legs folded in *vajrāsana* (the Diamond Pose) his right hand raised in *vitarka-mudrā*<sup>5</sup> and the left on

<sup>1</sup> Accession number 43-134. The stele is a part of the C. O. von Kienbusch, Jr., Memorial.

<sup>2</sup> The inscription of 1589 A.D. runs at a 90-degree angle in relation to the front side and makes no mention at all of the sculptured front. It narrates the story of an old cypress tree which had lived over a thousand years and then was infected with disease and had to be chopped down. The locality of the tree is described as being near the temple Ta Shan Ssū, north of Chi (which can be in Shantung or Shansi); and because of this famous tree, the temple was also popularly known as the Temple of the Old Cypress.

Insofar as it appears evident that the sculpture on the front of the stele was disregarded completely by the user of 1589, who merely utilized the back of the stone as material for a new monument, we may presume that the original stele was set up in the same area as the cypress tree. It seems highly unlikely that an expedient act such as that would involve the moving of this heavy piece of stone from any great distance.

<sup>3</sup> The sculptured front was obviously set hidden in the wall of the monument, or probably in the very tree stump.

<sup>4</sup> The throne is octagonal, but shows in the front only its three sides. For a similar throne, see Seiiti Miduno and Tosio Nagahiro, *A Study of the Buddhist Cave-Temples at Lun-mên, Ho-nan*, Tokyo, 1941, pl. 81, which illustrates the main Buddha in the Cave K'an-ching Ssū.

<sup>5</sup> The right hand of the Buddha is broken. From the position of the forearm, we know that it could not represent *Abhayandada-mudrā*, as shown in Figure 10 by the Buddha of Wang-fo Tung. It could, however, show the *Dharmacakra-mudrā*, which is sometimes represented by the right hand only. Since Waley, following Foucher and Stein, calls this general speaking gesture *Vitarka-mudrā*, we find it convenient to use this convention. We may cite the "Vitarka-mudrā" held by Sakyamuni in the Kanshūji hanging of the "Vulture Peak Paradise Mandala" as a typical example of this hand symbol. (For an illustration of the Kanshūji hanging, see Naitō Tōichirō, *The Wall Paintings of Hōryūji*, ed. by W. R. B. Acker and B. Rowland, Jr., Baltimore, 1943, pl. 60.)



his left knee.<sup>6</sup> By him, there stand two of his disciples and two Buddhisattvas.<sup>7</sup> This central group is flanked by two composite pillars, which are made up with four dwarf-atlantes,<sup>8</sup> four stone drums, and two rats on the top.<sup>9</sup> Above the heads of the central

<sup>6</sup> For a similar position for the left hand, see Figure 10, the Buddha of Wangfo Tung.

<sup>7</sup> The two disciples are Ānanda and Mahākāśyapa. The latter stands on Buddha's left, marked by more prominent rib-bones, for he is an older man. Mahākāśyapa is also shown here holding a rosary, which is usually used by Buddhist monks to aid their practice of meditation. The rosary is also a symbol of Rūpadhātu, "The World of Form," which is the second of the *Trailokya*, "The Three Realms" (see *Taishō Tripitaka*, Plates, II, p. 91).

For a brief account of "The Three Realms," see Note 22.

For stories of Ānanda and Mahākāśyapa, see Sokei-ann Sasaki, *The Story of the Giant Disciples of Buddha, Ānanda and Mahā-kāśyapa*, First Zen Buddhism Institute, New York, 1931.

For identification of the two Buddhisattvas in the stele, see p. 53 and Note 56.

<sup>8</sup> The dwarf-atlantes are earthly demi-gods. For a discussion concerning their designation as *yaksas*, see Naitō, Acker-Rowland, *op. cit.*, pp. 250-251, n. 38-40.

<sup>9</sup> The two animals on the top of the pillars, if indeed rats, should represent day and night.

The following parable is found in the "Sūtra on the cause of the preaching of the law by Pindola Bharadvāga to the King Udāyana" (Nanjio 1347, a Hinayāna-sūtra translated by Gunabhadra into Chinese in 435-443 A.D.):

"There was a man, who was pursued by a giant elephant while walking across a field. Seeking refuge, he climbed down on a vine into a well. As he was hanging onto the vine, he suddenly noticed above him two rats, one white and one black, nibbling away the vine. From the walls of the well there were four serpents pointing at him; below him, at the bottom of the well, there was a giant poisonous dragon. . . . The field was the scene of life and death . . . the elephant represented an accident of life . . . the vine was the root of life; the white and black rats represented day and night . . ." (*Taishō*, V. 32, no. 1690, p. 787a-b; free translation by the author).

Professor K. Weitzmann has pointed out to me that this old Indian parable was introduced into Christian literature and manuscript illuminations by *Barlaam and Ioasaph* of the middle eighth century A.D., commonly attributed to St. John of Damascus. The parable is retold in the following fashion:

" . . . a man flying before the face of a rampant unicorn, who, unable to endure the sound of the beast's cry, and its terrible bellowing, to avoid being devoured, ran away at full speed. But while he ran hastily, he fell into a great pit; and as he fell, he stretched forth his hands, and laid hold on a tree, to which he held tightly. There he established some sort of foot-hold and thought himself from that moment in peace and safety. But he looked and descried two mice, the one white, the other black, that never ceased to gnaw the root of the tree whereon he hung, and were all but on the point of severing it. Then he looked down to the bottom of the pit and espied below a dragon, breathing fire, fearful for eye to see, exceeding fierce and grim, with terrible wide jaws, all agape to swallow him. Again looking closely at the ledge whereon his feet rested, he discerned four heads of asps projecting from the wall whereon he was perched . . ." (translated by the Rev. G. R. Woodward and H. Mattingly, *St. John Damascene, Barlaam and Ioasaph*, The Loeb Classical Library, pp.



images, there is the carefully carved drape-canopy, now largely broken.<sup>10</sup> The festoons are tied to the pillars on both sides, and hung at the top from a lotus plant, which in turn grows upwards into three big lotus flowers, supporting a Buddha in the center with hands in *dhyāna* (or *samādhi*)-*mudrā*,<sup>11</sup> and two music-playing *garuḍas*,<sup>12</sup> one playing a lute and another a pipe.<sup>13</sup> Between the *garuḍas*, at either side of the *dhyāni* Buddha, there are two naked new-born souls standing on small lotus buds.<sup>14</sup> In the two upper corners of the stele, two deva-kings, crowned and armoured, one holding a forked spear and another a sword, half-stand and half-sit on the bodies of two dead demons.<sup>15</sup>

187-189). The parallel was also brought to my attention by Professor DeWald in whose museum seminar this paper was first developed.

For illustrations of the parable, see: J. Strzygowski, *Die Miniaturen des serbischen Psalters*, Wien, 1906, p. 97, fig. 36, which, however, reproduces Paris, Bibl. Nat., gr. codex 36, fol. 203v., instead of gr. 1128, as the caption says in the book (for description of this picture, see H. Bordier, *Description des peintures, mss. grecs*, Bibl. Nat., Paris, 1883, p. 264); and S. der Nersessian, *L'Illustration du roman de Barlaam et Joasaph*, Paris, 1937, p. 65, fig. 26.

<sup>10</sup> The festoons were cut out of the stone to hang freely over the heads of central images. They must have hung in two layers, the lower of which attached to the stone only at points where the individual loops of festoons were broken off. The base of each broken festoon is clearly visible in the stone.

<sup>11</sup> The *dhyāna-mudrā* symbolizes the entry into deep meditation. It is made with both hands lying on crossed knees, palms upwards, both index fingers bent to touch respective thumbs, which in turn touch each other. Here, the finger details are not indicated owing to the small scale.

<sup>12</sup> *Garuḍas*, bird-deities, form one of the eight armies of celestial beings described in the Lotus Sūtra. They are represented with human heads, bird bodies, and gold wings. For comparisons, see A. Stein, *The Thousand Buddhas*, London, 1921, pl. II, lower right along the cut of the picture.

<sup>13</sup> The pipe is almost completely obliterated. It only becomes evident when compared with the pipe held by the second musician, counting from the bottom, of *ibid.*, pl. I. The pipe is *shēng* in Chinese.

<sup>14</sup> The naked souls are represented standing in such a way that they resemble the new-born Buddha as told in the Legends of Buddha. See, for example, E. Matsumoto, *Tonkō-ga no Kenkyū*, Tokyo, 1937, pl. LXXIII c.

<sup>15</sup> The deva-kings, *Mahārājās* or *Lokapālas*, are Indra's external generals. There are four *Mahārājās*, dwelling on four sides of Mount Meru, called the Four Guardian Kings of the World. In China, appearing in almost every temple, the spear-bearer is *Dhṛtarāstra*, guardian of East, "Deva who governs a Kingdom 持國天" usually represented with a blue face; the sword-user is *Virūpākṣa*, guardian of West, "Deva of Broad-eyes 廣目天" usually represented with a white face. *Dhṛtarāstra* is also represented with a lute; he is the commander of the army of musician-*garuḍas*.

The four guardians are distributed according to the Chinese cosmology to symbolize four directions, four colors, and four seasons. If the main deity sits in the center facing South, it is proper to have *Dhṛtarāstra* on his left, identify-

Under them, there are two *apsaras* flying over the heads of two other celestial guardians, the *vajra vīra*,<sup>16</sup> both armourless, the left of which raises high a three-pronged *vajra* (the thunderbolt of *Indra*, called the Diamond Club in China) and the right a *vajra* wheel. They are standing on the same level as the central Buddha group. Below, in a separate register, two lions guarding a reliquary (surface damaged) occupy the center.<sup>17</sup> On the sides, there are two dancing figures and six seated musicians, playing drums, bells, clappers, a flute, and an instrument unidentified because of the damage.<sup>18</sup>

Below the band of dancers and musicians, we find two rows of donors with each figure turned towards the center of the stele. The figures number nineteen in total, but only eighteen of them have their names inscribed next to them.<sup>19</sup> Each figure except one holds an offering lotus in his hand. The kneeling figure in the center, which alone holds an incense burner, is inscribed as Wang, the mother of the chief donor Li Jēn-t'ai 李仁太.

At the bottom of the stone there is the dedicatory inscription, which gives the date and the occasion for which the stele was made. Although the reign title and the first character of the cyclical designation for the recorded date are lost, the lost characters can be epigraphically reconstructed.<sup>20</sup> We have found that the date of the carving is 750 A.D.; its corresponding cycle is

ing with East, Blue, and Spring; and *Virūpākṣa* on his right, identifying with West, White, and Fall.

In Japanese, deva-kings are called *jinnō*, meaning divine kings.

<sup>16</sup> *Vīra* are mighty men or demi-gods. In Japanese, *Vajra-vīra* are called *kon-gōrikishi*. In western writings, they are commonly called *vajrapāni*.

<sup>17</sup> For a glimpse of what the lion-and-reliquary group might look like, we may turn to its counterpart in Figure 12, showing a part of the Metropolitan stele.

<sup>18</sup> For comparisons of these seated musicians, see Stein, *op. cit.*, pls. I, II.

<sup>19</sup> The nineteenth figure, at the right end of the lower left line, differs from the rest; first, by being deprived of a name; secondly, by being broader than other figures. It is obviously a late intruder, carved over a part of the space filler, the lotus floral design 寶相花, since the floral motif is originally centrally placed, and actually runs over the surface of the added figure.

<sup>20</sup> The first part of the inscription reads:

"IN [ ] [ ] NINTH YEAR YEAR CORRESPONDING [ ] YIN NINTH MOON CHIN HSU BEGINNING FIRST [ ] CHIN HSU."

The literary style of the writing points to an eighth century T'ang date. First, the word "year" is written as *ts'ai* 歲, a unique literary preference of that period. Secondly, the combination *chin hsu* does not represent a cycle unless the character *chin* 辰 was a substitute for *ping* 丙. This again was a T'ang characteristic,

kēng-yin 庚寅, and the reign title during that period, T'ien Pao 天寶. The rest of the dedicatory inscription is translated as follows:

"THAT WHICH IS NOT SUBJECT TO BIRTH AND EXTINCTION<sup>21</sup> IS KNOWN AS THE FA 法 (*dharmā*, or Buddhist Law). THAT WHICH HAS A HSIANG 相 (*lakṣaṇa*, or external appearance), AND YET HAS NO [PARTICULAR] HSIANG IS KNOWN AS THE FO 佛 (Buddha). BUDDHA IS CHUEH 覺 (*bodhi*, or enlightenment), AND THE GREAT TEACHER OF THE 'THREE REALMS.'<sup>22</sup> ONCE [HE] RETREATED TO THE SHUANG-LIN 雙林 (*śālavana*, the twin trees, *śal* trees, under which

since the use of the character *ping* was taboo during the T'ang dynasty, and words involving *ping* are always written as *chin*, meaning brilliant or good omen. With *chin* read as *ping*, we find the descriptions of the stele date as follows:

a) It is the ninth year of some reign.

b) It corresponds to the cycle [ ] yin 寅.

c) The beginning of its ninth month is a day of which cyclical designation is *ping hsu* 丙戌 (here written as *ching hsu* 景戌).

Between the years 618 A.D. and 906 A.D., the duration of the T'ang dynasty, only 750 A.D. and 774 A.D. are the ninth year of some reign having at the same time the cycle yin 寅 as the second character of the cyclical combination. Further, the Chinese calendar shows that 750 A.D. was the year which had the first day of its ninth moon marked cyclically as *ping hsu*. From this we are able to reconstruct the inscription, which should read in English as follows:

IN TIEN PAO 天寶, NINTH YEAR,

THE YEAR CORRESPONDING TO THE CYCLE KENG YIN 庚寅,

THE NINTH MOON, WHICH BEGINS WITH PING HSU 丙戌.

THE FIRST DAY, WHICH IS PING HSU.

<sup>21</sup> Mi 滅, translation of *Nirodha*, meaning annihilation or extinction.

<sup>22</sup> "The Three Realms," *Trailokya*, are: 1) Realm of Desire (*Kāmadhātu*); 2) Realm of Form (*Rūpadhātu*); 3) Realm of Formless (*Arūpadhātu*). "The Realm of Desire 欲界" consists of earth and purgatory and six heavens of desire, which are *Antariksa* 虛空天, *Caturmahārāja-kāyika* 四天王天, *Trayastrimśa* 忉利天, *Tusita* 兜率天, *Nirmānarati* 化樂天, and *Paranirmitavaśavartin* 他化自在天. "The Realm of Form 色界" consists of four *dhyāna* heavens 四禪天, which in turn are divided into eighteen "Heavens of Form." The inhabitants of this realm are above the desire for sex and food. "The Realm of Formless 無色界" is a realm of mind in contemplation. It has "Four empty (or formless) Heavens," *Catūrūpabrahmaloka* 四空天.

In connection with "The Paradise of the Pure Land," questions have been raised as to whether the Pure Land belongs to any of these three realms. Pertinent early texts concerning discussions of this problem are gathered in *An-yang Ts'ao*, I, *Taishō* 84, no. 2686, pp. 119-121. The general answer to this query is that while *Buddhisattvas* and *arhats* could choose freely to live in any of the three realms as their compassion might urge them to (*Taishō*, 84, pl. 119b), the rest of the beings could appear in the Pure Land, and yet still be unable to rise above the lowest realm of desire (p. 121c).

the Buddha entered *nirvāna*), AND PRACTICED THE SAN-MEI 三昧 (*samādhi*).<sup>23</sup> THEN HE CAUSED HIS PRECIOUS VESSEL [OF SALVATION] TO FLOAT FOR ETERNITY, AND HIS GOLDEN PRECEPTS PRESERVED FOREVER. THOSE WHO HAVE HEARD [OF HIM] ARE FREED FROM THE BONDAGE OF THIS WORLD; THOSE WHO INVOKE [HIS NAME] ALL RISE TO THAT WAY OF AWAKENING. WE, FATHERS AND SONS OF I-I 邑義,<sup>24</sup> LI JEN-T'AI 李仁太 AND OTHERS TO THE NUMBER OF SIXTEEN, WHO LIVE IN THIS MUDDY WORLD OF SHA-P'O 娑婆 (*sahā*),<sup>25</sup> AND WHO WERE RAISED IN THOROUGHFARES OF PERPETUAL DARKNESS, EACH OF US HAS COME TO HAVE A PURE AND FAITHFUL HEART, AND TOGETHER WE HOPE FOR THE SHORE OF PO-LO 波羅 (*pāramitā*),<sup>26</sup> WE HAVE REVERENTLY UNDERTAKEN TO MAKE THIS STONE IMAGE. THE TASK HAS NOW COME TO ITS COMPLETION. THE LIGHT [OF THE IMAGE] RADIATES TO THE TEN DIRECTIONS. MAY ALL SENTIENT BEINGS (*sattvas*) ATTAIN THE WONDROUS WAY. HEREUPON THIS EULOGY:

MAJESTIC THE TRUE IMAGE,  
BEAUTIFUL THE MAGIC MANIFESTATION;  
UNOBSCURED AS THE BRIGHT SUN,  
BANISHING ALL VAIN THOUGHTS;  
SAVING US FROM THE THREE CALAMITIES,<sup>27</sup>

The rosary held by *Mahākāśyapa* in the stele symbolizes "The World of Form" (see Note 7). This means that *Mahākāśyapa* here is represented in his historical aspect as an ascetic, practicing meditation in the *Dhyāna* Heavens.

<sup>23</sup> *Samādhi* is the highest stage of meditation, when the meditator, so to speak, passes from abstraction to ecstasy. The aim is *mukti*, freedom from the bondage of this life. The word *dhyāna* denotes a more general form of meditation; while a third word *samāpatti* represents the stage between the two.

<sup>24</sup> *I-i* is a religious fraternity which existed as early as fifth century A.D. In early Lung-mên caves, we already see dedications by *I-i*. For an account of *I-i* as an organized lay society for financing the erection of stone Buddhist monuments, see L. S. Yang, "Buddhist Monasteries and Four Money-raising Institutions in Chinese History," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 13, June 1950, p. 180 f., and notes.

<sup>25</sup> *Sahā* is the earth, where there is both good and evil, and where all beings are subject to rebirth and transmigration.

<sup>26</sup> "The Shore of Po-lo," is a translation of *Pāramitā*, which denotes the act, or the means, of crossing over from this shore of suffering, birth and rebirth, to that of *nirvāna*.

<sup>27</sup> W. E. Soothill, *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*, London, 1937, p. 69: "The three calamities: they are of two kinds, minor and major. The minor, appearing during a decadent world-period, are sword, pestilence, and famine; the major, for world-destruction, are fire, water, and wind." (From *Chu Shē Lun*, XII.)



FREEING US FROM FIVE HINDRANCES;<sup>28</sup>  
MAY OUR SONS AND OUR GRANDSONS,  
ALWAYS TURN THEIR HEARTS TO IT."

The last line carries the signature of the calligrapher, no longer decipherable owing to damage.

Stylistically, the Princeton stele belongs to the last phase of development of the T'ang monumental sculpture. The T'ang art of sculpture reached its peak of glory in the third quarter of the seventh century when the colossus of Vairocana Buddha was erected at Fēng-hsien Ssū of Lung-mēn (Figs. 3, 4).<sup>29</sup> In comparison to the Fēng-hsien Ssū figures, the Princeton images show longer faces, more slender proportions for the body, and also more freedom in pose and modelling. These changes, as we know from existing monuments, have already made themselves manifest at the beginning of the eighth century. For an example, we may cite the Amitābha Trinity on the eastern wall of Hua-t'a Ssū at Hsi-an, Shensi, made in 703 A.D. (Fig. 5).<sup>30</sup>

In iconography, the stele is rooted in the tradition of rock-cut caves exemplified by the Fēng-hsien Ssū carvings. In fact, the central part of the stele design is conceived as a cave, in which the Buddha is enthroned with four attendants, and at which gateway the guardians stand and the *apsaras* are flying. For an exact parallel of this arrangement, we may turn to Figure 6, which reproduces the exterior of Yao-fang Tung, also at Lung-mēn.<sup>31</sup> A third example is shown in Figure 10, which illustrates

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 129: "The five hindrances, or obstacles: . . . The hindrances of (1) the passion-nature, e.g. original sin; (2) of *karma* caused in previous lives; (3) the affairs of life; (4) no friendly or competent preceptor; (5) partial knowledge."

<sup>29</sup> This colossal rock-cut shrine was carved under the supervision of Shan-tao, the great Pure Land master, by Imperial order with donation from Empress Wu. It was begun in the fourth moon of 672 A.D., and completed in the twelfth moon of the year 675. The colossus of Vairocana, measuring about 15 m. from the crown of the halo to the base of the pedestal, is accompanied by two disciples (*arhats*), two Buddhistsattvas, two deva-kings, and two *vajra-vīra*. For a detailed account of the statues and a full transcript of the inscription, see Tokiwa-Sekino, *Buddhist Monuments in China*, Tokyo, 1930, text, part II, p. 91; or the English edition, p. 83 f. For more detailed photographs, see Chavannes, *Mission archéologique dans la Chine septentrionale*, Paris, 1909, nos. 351, 352, 353, 355, 356. Figures 3 and 4 are taken from Oswald Siren, *Chinese Sculpture*, vol. 4, pls. 453, 456.

<sup>30</sup> Tokiwa-Sekino, *op. cit.*, I-25; Collection of K. Hayasaki.

<sup>31</sup> The exterior of Yao-fang Tung shows two *vajra-vīra* standing to each side of the pillared and arched gateway. Above, a stele supported by two dwarf-



the interior back wall of Wang-fo Tung, with the central Buddha and his four attendants.<sup>32</sup> The affinity between the Princeton design and the "program" of these caves can be graphically told by a series of their floor plans (Figs. 7-9).<sup>33</sup>

On the other hand, the Princeton stele's iconography is unique among the known monuments of Buddhist art.<sup>34</sup> The dancers, the musicians, the music-playing *garudas*, and the new-born souls on the stele undoubtedly remind us of the popular type of "Western Paradise" pictures found in Tun Huang, where the same groups of celestial beings are shown (Fig. 13).<sup>35</sup> Although Tun Huang examples of this type date mostly later than the stele, we cannot doubt that such elaborate representations of paradise with layers of pavilions and terraces, musicians and dancers, and musician-birds, existed in the late seventh

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atlantes is flanked by two flying *apsaras*. These are all done in high relief, and as Tokiwa and Sekino have suggested, should be dated to the early T'ang period. Inside, against the back wall, the main Buddha is seated cross-legged, accompanied by two disciples and two Buddhisattvas. See Tokiwa-Sekino, *op. cit.*, text II, English ed., pp. 89-90. Figure 6 is taken from Chavannes, *op. cit.*, pl. CCXXVIII.

<sup>32</sup> Wang-fo Tung, the Cave of Thousand Buddhas, was completed in 680 A.D. See Tokiwa-Sekino, *op. cit.*, pp. 73-74; Figure 10 is taken from pl. 71.

<sup>33</sup> The translation of a cave "program" into a stele composition would seem quite natural, when we remember that both caves and stele were carved for devotional purposes, and that while powerful emperors and wealthy abbots erected colossal statues, the modest donors could only seek to satisfy themselves and their gods with imitations of the grand in a smaller scale. In the Metropolitan Museum of New York, we see another example of this type of stele (Fig. 12) in which the lower right of the three niches on the back of the stone shows the Buddha enthroned amidst four attendants, with two guardians and two lions flanking a reliquary under them, while the other two niches present slight variations of the same theme. (See A. Priest, *Chinese Sculpture in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York, 1944, no. 33, pp. 36-38, pls. LXVI-LXXIV.)

<sup>34</sup> Helen B. Chapin, in discussing the stele with Professor G. Rowley in 1945, found the iconography so puzzling that she concluded in the following words: "I think the only thing that can be said at present is that the stela is probably provincial and certainly uncanonical. There is also a possibility that it may be a forgery. The intention seems to have been to represent a paradise, which one it is impossible for me at least to say. The inscription seems to indicate Sākyamuni, either preaching just before the Nirvāṇa or lying down, but the stela itself does not conform. I do not think this proves the stela a forgery, but it certainly, along with other things, poses problems. (See letter by Helen B. Chapin to Professor George Rowley, dated May 20, 1945, kept in the files of the Art Museum.)

<sup>35</sup> Figure 13 reproduces P. Pelliot, *Les grottes de Touen-houang*, Paris, 1920, V, pl. CCCIII.

and early eighth century in China, since the original *Taema-mandara* of the *Taema-dera* monastery in Yamato, certainly a variation of the type, was done after a Chinese model in the *Tempyō Hōji* era.<sup>36</sup> In view of this, a few crucial questions concerning the meaning and derivation of the stele composition are raised. One might wonder whether the stele is directly related to this Tun Huang type of Western Paradise. Whether the answer to this is affirmative or negative, one may further rightfully ask if the stele does represent a Buddhist paradise, even though the inscription only terms it a "stone (Buddha's) image."

To answer these questions, we must first examine the development of paradise paintings in the T'ang period. The "Paradises," properly called "Phases of the Pure Land," 淨土變相,<sup>37</sup> were enormously popular in China during the seventh and eighth centuries.<sup>38</sup> One type of these "Pure Land" pictures, the famous image of "Amitābha Accompanied by Fifty Buddhisattvas," dates back in China proper to the Northern Ch'i dynasty, or the middle of the sixth century A.D.<sup>39</sup> Among the examples of early representations of the Pure Land extant today, this theme of "Amitābha and Fifty Buddhisattvas" is predominant. In Lung-mēn, we see it treated on the back wall of the Cave Wang-fo Tung, which was completed in 680 A.D. (Fig. 10). In Tun Huang, it shows up in one of the earlier cycles of frescoes, dated roughly around 700 A.D. (Fig. 11).<sup>40</sup> Finally, in Japan,

<sup>36</sup> The original *Taema-mandara* was made in 763 A.D. See Taki Seiichi, "On the *Taema-mandara* Painting," *Kokka*, nos. 247, 249, 251 (in three parts). A good copy of this composition is in Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., registration no. 06.5.

<sup>37</sup> In China, the paradise pictures were always called "Phases of (Amitābha's) Pure Land." In Japan, the term *mandara* was used to include these paradise pictures after the introduction of the *Shingon* sect in 806 A.D. Thus the Paradise made in the *Taema-dera* monastery was called the *Taema-mandara*. (See Taki Seiichi, *Kokka*, December, 1910, no. 247, English ed. p. 160.)

<sup>38</sup> Among the wall paintings listed by Chang Yen-yūan in his *Li-tai-ming-hua-chi*, a good portion of them depicting "Phases of the Pure Land" were painted by famous artists like Wei-chih, Po-chih-na, Wu Tao-tzu, and others.

<sup>39</sup> The story of the invention of this icon of "Amitābha Accompanied by Fifty Buddhisattvas" is told by Tao-hsüan in his *Chi Shēn-chou San Pao Kan T'ung Lu* 集神州三寶感通錄 chapter II, which is translated in Naitō, Acker-Rowland, *The Wall Paintings of Horyūji*, pp. 143-144.

Although Tao-hsüan would have us believe that the image first came to China in the Han dynasty, the pictures in any case were not popularized until the time of Northern Ch'i, when Ts'ao Chung-ta painted them.

<sup>40</sup> Cave 146, Tun Huang (Pelliot, *op. cit.*, V, pl. CCCXVIII).

Bachhofer dates these frescoes 700 A.D. See L. Bachhofer, "Die Raumdarstellung

the Tachibana shrine of late seventh century in the Hōryūji monastery, one of the earliest representations of Amitābha of that country, represents this very same theme (Fig. 14).<sup>41</sup>

We can be sure that the universal popularity of this ancient icon at the end of the seventh century was not an accident, for it appeared to be the only orthodox composition "revealed" to the believers, expressly for the purpose of representing a vision of the Pure Land. Among the Hōryūji Kondō frescoes, the Amitābha Paradise on the large western wall, as noted by Naitō Tōichirō, represents this same image of "Amitābha Accompanied by Fifty Buddhisattvas."<sup>42</sup> The other three paradises in the same Kondō are different; but they too represent something familiar to us. The north-western wall, for instance, though much damaged even before the fire, shows the Buddha seated on the lotus throne, flanked by two disciples, two Buddhisattvas, and eight guardians, and under them, two lions and a reliquary in the center (Fig. 15).<sup>43</sup> The eastern and the north-eastern

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in der chinesischen Malerei des ersten Jahrtausends n. Chr.," *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, 1931, p. 215.

<sup>41</sup> See *Catalogue of Art Treasures of Ten Great Temples of Nara*, III, *The Hōryūji Temple*, part III, Tokyo, 1932, pp. 407, pls. 36-85.

<sup>42</sup> Naitō, Acker-Rowland, *op. cit.*, p. 143 f.

<sup>43</sup> Naitō Tōichirō, in his *Wall Paintings of Hōryūji*, singles out the two front guardians (nos. 12, 13 in Figure 15) as *kongōrikishi* (*vajra-vīra*) and puzzles over the identities of the six figures in the rear. He decides that no. 8 might have been a Buddhisattva, while the other five (nos. 9, 6, 7, 10, 11) are *jinnō* (*devarāja*, or deva-kings). But if so, as Naitō has observed, the arrangement would seem to "do violence to the principle of balanced relationship between figures occupying the same relative position on the two sides of the composition." Then he conjectures that the five *devarāja* may be the Five Great Divinities in the Maitreya paradise, as the painter of the frescoes "was so careful to put in the most characteristic features of at least two of the other paradises . . . in this case too, putting in the Five Great Divinities who constitute one of the main characteristics of the Tusita heaven of Miroku (Maitreya)." (*Ibid.*, pp. 88-91.) Fig. 15 is taken from *Ibid.*, pl. 11.

The argument sketched above appears to be rather arbitrary. First of all, if the "five *devarāja*" were meant to be the "Five Great Divinities in the Maitreya Heaven," then the extra Buddhisattva (no. 8) still remains unexplained (he could not be just a space-filler!). Secondly, the attribution of this paradise to Maitreya is disputable, and methodologically, it is unsound to use the doubtful existence of the "Five Great Divinities of the Maitreya Heaven" to prove the disputable attribution of the paradise of Maitreya, or vice versa. Bachhofer has suggested, and I believe with good reasons, that the Buddha on the north-eastern wall, instead of this one on the north-western wall, is Maitreya. (See L. Bachhofer, "Maitreya in Ketumatī, by Chu Hao-ku," *India Antiqua*, Leyden, 1947, p. 6, note 11.)

walls exhibit the same elements.<sup>44</sup> Indeed, they are but translations into painting of the same "program" of the Lung-mên caves discussed above (Figs. 7, 8, 9), and of course, also of the Princeton and Metropolitan Museum steles (Figs. 2, 12).

Thus the standard arrangement of a Buddhist cave shrine, representing the abode of a Buddha, could be used by late seventh- and early eighth-century artists to symbolize a paradise. The singular, important point to be stressed here is the fact that early representations of Buddha's paradises, "Amitābha and Fifty Buddhisattvas" and the cave-derived paradises included, were simple stately assemblies of Buddhas, Buddhisattvas, Buddha's disciples, and guardians. They were in short, austere icons, and had none of the painterly embellishments of the aesthetic bliss of paradise, as represented by the later Tun Huang, or *Taema-mandara* type of paradise (Fig. 13).<sup>45</sup> The origin of this later type of paradise is obscure to us. Most writers follow the tradition that Shan-tao 善導 (1680), the most prominent patriarch and the greatest teacher of the Pure Land School, was the inventor of this type. The evidence is however not conclusive.<sup>46</sup> What is certain is that this form of

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If we turn to a good color print of the north-western wall (*Wall Paintings of the Horyūji Monastery*, Benrido Press, Kyoto, 1951, Wall Painting No. IX), we will notice that the front left guardian (no. 12 in our Fig. 15) is naked to the waist and is wearing a sort of diadem around his hair, while the third figure back, on both sides (nos. 6, 7, in Fig. 15), is definitely clothed and is wearing a much taller headdress. The figure (no. 8 in Fig. 15) which Naitō identifies as a Buddhisattva, is almost entirely obliterated, but against the dark cloth of the figure behind, enough silhouette is shown to indicate that the headdress has projecting horns. This alone is enough to prove that this figure is not a Buddhisattva but another *vajra-vīra* (or *kongōrikishi*).

Based on these observations, it is safe to conclude that the front four figures (nos. 12, 13, 8, 9 in Fig. 15) are *vajra-vīra*, who are shown naked as they are in the Princeton stele, and the rear four (nos. 6, 7, 10, 11) are deva-kings, who are usually clothed and armoured.

<sup>44</sup> The paradise on the large eastern wall has no guardian figure. This omission seems to be made only for compositional reasons. The three walls (the western wall is different, for it is a different composition) have an even distribution of thirteen figures for each wall. In taking the place of the eight guardians of the north-western wall, the eight additional disciple figures on the eastern wall make up the number of the scriptural "Ten Great Disciples" of Buddha Śākyamuni.

<sup>45</sup> Two other examples of the early type of paradise in Tun Huang may be cited: Cave 77 (Pelliot, *op. cit.*, pl. CLIV, CLVI) representing Maitreya, four Buddhisattvas and four guardians; Cave 146 (*ibid.*, pl. CCCXIX) representing Buddha flanked by six disciple figures, two Buddhisattvas, and two guardians.

<sup>46</sup> This tradition is primarily based on two literary references: 1) *Wang-shēng*



picture appeared suddenly, completely new and apparently in full maturity, in the last years of the seventh century.<sup>47</sup> By the middle of the eighth century, when the Princeton stele was made, it had taken the place of the older icon as the sole image of the blessed Pure Land. The persistence of the old "cave iconography" in the stele speaks for the strong traditional aspect of the stone carving; but what is the relation of the stele to this later type of paradise picture?

The relation between the two is actually restricted to the formal borrowing of the dancer-and-musician group by the

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*Hsi-fang Ching-t'u Shui-ying Chuan* (circa A.D. 760-780 according to Waley) mentions that Shan-tao, in addition to transcribing the *Amitāyus-sūtra* ten thousand times, had also painted three hundred "Phases of the Pure Land" (*Taishō*, 51, no. 2070, p. 105c; see also A. Waley, *A Catalogue of Paintings Recovered from Tun-Huang by Sir Aurel Stein*, London, 1931, p. xxii). 2) Priest Shunshō (A.D. 1255-1335) in his *Hōnen Shōnin Gyōjō Gwazu* says that in Japan, when Shan-tao's commentary on the *Amitāyurdhyāna-sūtra* was introduced in 858, it was then realized that the Taema-mandara of 763 was based on the text of the commentary rather than the original *sūtra*. (See Waley, *op. cit.*, p. xxii.) By putting the two references together, we seem to be told that:

- 1) Shan-tao painted Paradise Pictures, whose composition was
- 2) later copied by the Taema-mandara.

As E. Matsumoto, however, points out, in a composition like that of the Taema-mandara, two basic kinds of pictures are involved: the central composition illustrates the Pure Land described in the *Amitāyus-sūtra*, while the side scenes illustrate the sixteen "Meditations" and the story of Vaidehī and Ajātasātru described in the *Amitāyurdhyāna-sūtra*. (See E. Matsumoto, *Tonkō-ga no Kenkyū*, Tokyo, 1937, pp. 1-44.) It is possible that the side scenes of the Taema-mandara were copied directly after examples created by Shan-tao, who illustrated his own commentary on that *Amitāyurdhyāna-sūtra*. Yet, there is no evidence that Shan-tao created the central composition, illustrating the paradise described in the *Amitāyus-sūtra*, which is our present concern.

In fact, there is evidence showing that Shan-tao, if induced to paint the central Paradise scene, would still depict it in the old manner of what we have hitherto described as the cave-derived simple type of paradise. At the end of his commentary on the *Amitāyurdhyāna-sūtra*, Shan-tao records his visions of heaven, the most concrete of which, appearing on the "second night," shows "The Buddha Amitābha, his body in genuine gold color, sitting under the tree of seven-jewels and on the gold lotus [throne]. Ten monks (disciples) surrounding him; each sits under a jewelled tree. There are heavenly scarves hanging on the trees. The Buddha sits frontally facing west, with his hands closed in meditation." (*Taishō*, 37, no. 1753, p. 278c. Translation by the author.) This can be no other composition than that similar to the Hōryūji eastern wall, which by the merest coincidence also shows the Buddha facing West.

<sup>47</sup> This would seem to coincide with the Japanese traditional belief that the picture was "passed on from three countries," or a composition introduced from India (or Central Asia) through China and Korea. (See, Taki Seiichi, *Kokka* no. 247, p. 164b, the English edition.)

Princeton stele,<sup>48</sup> and the difference between the contents of the two is greater even than the difference in their independent iconographic derivations. Although founded in the traditional "cave iconography," and kin to the Hōryūji cave-derived paradises, the Princeton design represents a theme, above and beyond the scope of a Buddhist Paradise, and is, in the fullest sense, a pictorial embodiment of certain religious teachings of its time.

It is significant that the stele inscription merely calls the carving a "stone (Buddha's) image." The key difference between the stele design and a true paradise picture lies in the appearance of a second Buddha on the top of the Princeton stone.<sup>49</sup> We may define a paradise picture as a concrete vision of the Pure Land, showing its splendor and magnitude, with the presiding Buddha in the center and the subsidiary Buddhas and Buddhisattvas around him. In the Princeton stele, however, the two Buddhas are shown as equals, contemporaneous, but presiding over two different worlds. This phenomenon cannot

<sup>48</sup> The dancers and musicians are first of all naked to the waist, a definite non-Chinese character. Secondly, the musicians are seated in *yoga* pose, another Indian feature. The ancient Chinese sitting-down pose is close to the kneeling position, with the knees placed in front of the body rather on the sides. For a survey of illustrated ancient Chinese musicians, see Chao P'ang-yen, "Han-hua So-chien Yui-hsi Kao," *Studies Presented to Ts'ai Yüan-p'ei on his Sixty-fifth Birthday*, part I, Peiping, 1935, pp. 525-538.

<sup>49</sup> Plain superimposition of two or more Buddha groups on one stele is common. (See, for examples, the stele in Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., registration no. 23.14, and Naitō, *The Wall Paintings of Hōryūji*, Japanese edition, pl. 9 [a].) In ordinary paradise pictures (Fig. 13) there may appear above the head of the main Buddha, the "Buddhas of the Past and Future." The subsidiary Buddhas, however, are always shown in a group, and in a much smaller scale than the central Buddha. One painting in Tun Huang, representing the Maitreya Paradise, shows both Maitreya figures in equal size, and both with pendant legs. There, the top figure represents the Buddhisattva Maitreya who waits in the Tusita Heaven. The picture is illustrated in Pelliot, *op. cit.*, pl. CCCXVII, and also in Matsumoto, *op. cit.*, pl. I (b). Matsumoto, however, wrongly labels the picture as Amitābha's Paradise, which could neither account for the pendant legs, nor for the second Buddha in the separate precinct on the top.

The subsidiary Buddha group in the lower half of the paradise, illustrated in Stein, *Thousand Buddhas*, pl. VII, may suggest a parallel to the Princeton top Buddha. As it is subordinated to the central triad, however, it appears only to contribute to the idea of the existence of multi-Buddhas in a paradise. We hardly need to dispute with Petrucci, "who takes the group . . . for a repetition of the principal triad" (*ibid.*, p. 17); this repetition of the central triad is further clearly exemplified in the paradise illustrated in *ibid.*, pl. VIII.

be properly understood until we realize that it is a literal illustration of the *Sukhāvatīvyūha* (*Amitāyus-sūtra*).<sup>50</sup>

The *Amitāyus-sūtra* is the main sūtra of the Amitābha Pure Land School. Shan-tao, its greatest preacher, was said to have transcribed this sūtra throughout his life over ten thousand times.<sup>51</sup> The dialogue of this sūtra takes place at *Rāgagriha*, on the mountain *Gridhrakūta*. The principal speaker is the Buddha, who tells the history of *Amitābha*, from his early stage when he was a *Bhikṣu* named *Dharmākara*, to the description of *Sukhāvatī*, the Western Paradise over which Amitābha presides.<sup>52</sup> Correctly, the Princeton stele represents the central Buddha in speaking *mudrā*, and identifies him in the inscription as the Buddha, who had once "retreated to the *śālavana*," that is, the historical Buddha Śākyamuni. By inference, the Buddha above would naturally be Amitābha, who sits in *Sukhāvatī* with all the Pure-Land beings—the new-born souls, the musician-birds, the dancers and musicians, as described by the Buddha in the *Amitāyus-sūtra*.<sup>53</sup>

To sum up, what we see here in this stone is first, a final statement of Buddhism, which was now completely assimilated in China, and secondly, the fruit of the teachings of Shan-tao

<sup>50</sup> The *Amitāyus-sūtra* has had twelve Chinese translations. The first and the fifth to tenth were already lost, when *K'ai-yüan Lu*, the catalogue of the Chinese Tripitaka of A.D. 730, was compiled. For a list, see *Nanjio* 23 (5) n. 1.

The *Amitāyus-sūtra* (*Taishō*, 12, pp. 265 f.), together with the *Lesser Amitāyus-sūtra* (*Taishō*, 12, pp. 346 f.), and the *Amitāyurdhyāna-sūtra* (*Taishō*, 12, no. 365, pp. 340 f.) are the three main sūtras of the Amitābha Pure Land Sect. All three texts are translated in *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. XLIX, *Buddhist Māhāyāna Texts*, part II, Oxford, 1894, pp. 1-72, 89-103 (trans. by Max Müller); pp. 161-201 (trans. by J. Takakusu).

<sup>51</sup> See Wang-sheng Hsi-fang *Ching-t'u Shui-ying Chuan*, *Taishō*, 51, no. 105c.

<sup>52</sup> J. M. Müller, translating "The Larger *Sukhāvatīvyūha*," *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. XLIX, part II, pp. 1 f.

<sup>53</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 33 f.

In discussing the place held by Śākyamuni, Maitreya, and Amitābha in T'ang Buddhism, Paul Mus is quite right in writing (*Barabudur*, I, Hanoi, 1935, p. 569): "La dévotion à Amitābha n'a donc pas éliminé Çākyamuni de l'art de Touen-houang, pas plus qu'à Yun-kang et Long-men l'apparente prédominance iconographique de Çākyamuni n'avait exclu l'adoration spéciale d'Amitābha, à travers la personne et l'image du Buddha historique. C'est faute d'avoir saisi en toute son ampleur le système du Mahāyāna qu'on a voulu introduire un conflit entre les deux tendances: elles sont en réalité complémentaires, et, jusqu'à l'époque où la ruine de l'Inde bouddhique a compromis la suprématie de Çākyamuni, elles n'ont pas cessé de se supposer l'une l'autre."

and his fellow Pure-Land masters, which became overwhelmingly popular after the seventh century.<sup>54</sup>

Starting with the central quintet group, inherited from earlier rock-cut caves, the stele has stated the essential doctrine of the Northern Buddhism, which in effect, had claimed that the *Theravada* was embraced by the greater *Mahayāna* system. It has been said that in the course of development of Buddhism in China, "the Arhat ideal, that of the human being who, by strenuous effort, acquires Enlightenment, gave way to that of the Buddhisattva, the saviour of Mankind, and compassion (*Karuna*) replaced Wisdom (*Prajna*) as receiving the greater emphasis."<sup>55</sup> In the presence of the Princeton image of the central Buddha accompanied by two disciples (*arhats*) and two Buddhisattvas, this statement seems to be an oversimplification. For if the disciples, or the *arhats*, represented the *Śrāvakas*, symbolizing the self-enlightenment ideal of the *Theravada*, and the Buddhisattvas, the other-self salvation of the *Mahayāna*, the Buddha would be logically the embodiment of both. Theologically, either one of the ideals is quite insufficient without the other, and in the five-figured image of the Princeton stele, we can easily see that these two ideals are being incorporated. For a characterization of the meaning of this five-figured image, we may quote Professor D. T. Suzuki:

"(When the central Buddha is Sakyamuni,) the Buddhisattvas are Monju (Manjusri) and Fugen (Samantabhadra), and the Arhats are Kasho (Mahakashyapa) and Anan (Ananda). Sakyamuni is here both historical and 'metaphysical,' so to speak. Seeing him attended by his two chief disciples, he is a historical figure, but with Monju and Fugen who represent or symbolize wisdom and love, the two ruling attributes of the highest reality, Sakyamuni is Vairocana standing above the world of transmigration. . . . In fact, our religious life has two aspects—the experience itself and its philosophy. This is represented in Buddhism by the historical trinity of Sakyamuni, Kashyapa, and Ananda, and by the metaphysical one of Vairocana, Manjusri, and Samantabhadra. . . ."<sup>56</sup>

<sup>54</sup> See M. W. de Visser, *Ancient Buddhism in Japan*, I, Leiden, 1935, p. 318 f., especially, p. 320.

<sup>55</sup> C. Humphreys, *Buddhism*, Penguin Books, 1951, p. 49.

<sup>56</sup> D. T. Suzuki, *Manual of Zen Buddhism*, Kyoto, 1935, pp. 187-188.

The central Buddha, of course, does not have to be śākyamuni. When it is Amitābha, the attending Buddhisattvas are Avalokiteśvara and Mahāsthāma.





Fig. 1. Back of Stele Illustrated in Figure 2

It is instructive to note that among the early caves in Yung-kang and Lung-mên, the central Buddha is never attended by more than two Buddhisattvas.<sup>57</sup> The five-figured group appeared early in the sixth century, and predominated thereafter.<sup>58</sup>

Yet, in a narrower historical sense, it is correct to say that the Chinese Buddhist emphasis in the T'ang period passed from the ideal of self-enlightenment to that of universal salvation. The Pure Land School, the patron of the paradise paintings, was in fact a doctrine of "salvation by grace," a school of short cuts, developed for the purpose of reaching the populace.<sup>59</sup> In this sect, faith alone was emphasized. It preached the "easy ways" towards Nirvāna, and recommended "Meditation on Buddha" and the use of "the other-power (namely, powers of Buddhas

<sup>57</sup> See Miduno-Nagahiro, *Study of Buddhist Cave-Temples at Lung-mên*, p. 136.

For a search on the origin of the triad group, see, Takayasu Higuchi, "Prototype of the Amitābha Trinity," *Ars Buddhica*, 7, 1950.

<sup>58</sup> Miduno-Nagahiro tell us that it first appeared in the years of Yung Ping of the Northern Wei Dynasty (commencing A.D. 508). (*Op. cit.*, p. 136.)

The earliest five-figured image probably appears in a small niche on the northern wall of the Ku-yang Tung, which is illustrated in Tokiwa-Sekino, *op. cit.*, II-89, left, and which could be dated to circa A.D. 505 by the date of the larger niche above.

<sup>59</sup> Sir C. Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, III, London, 1921, p. 312 f.

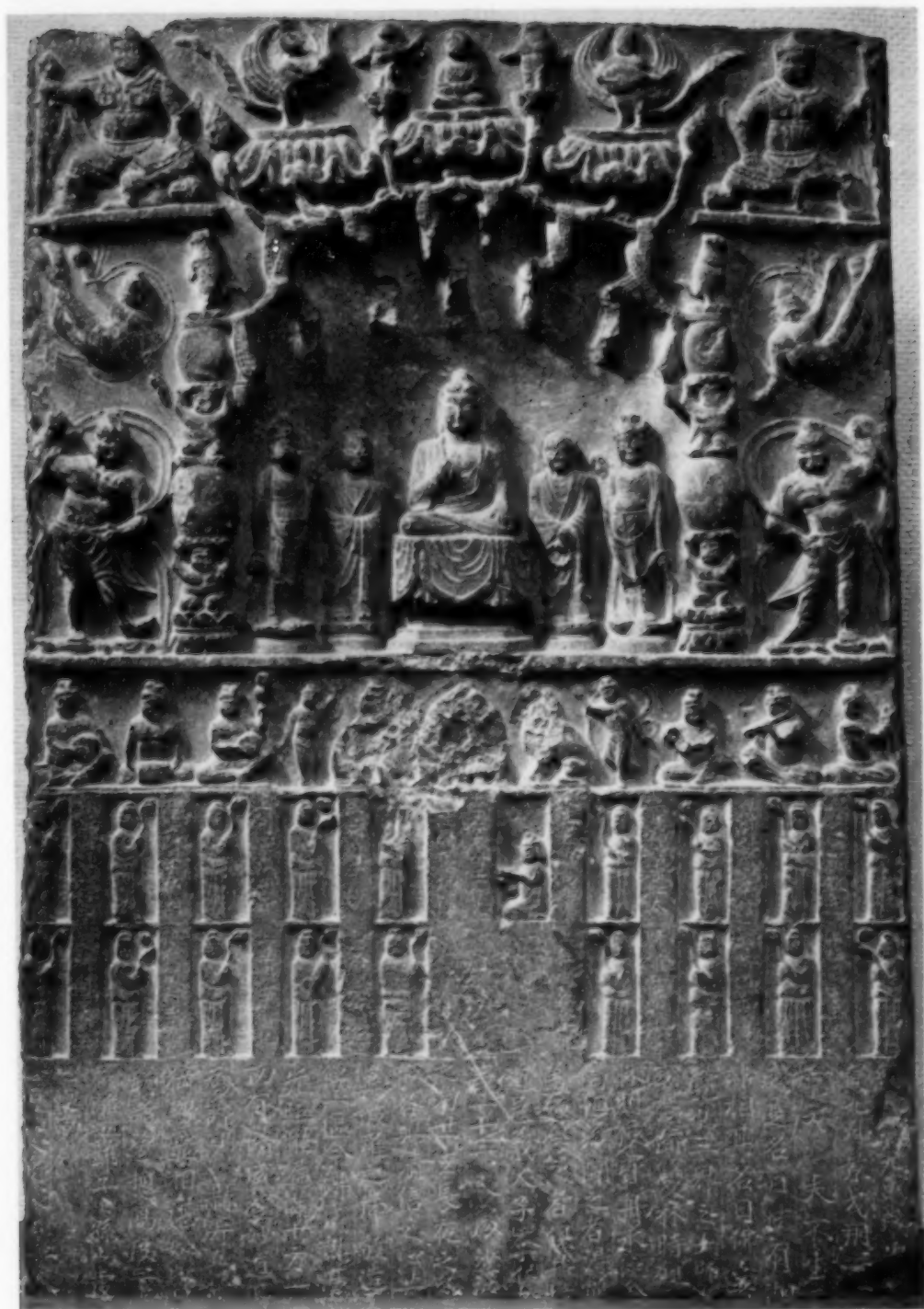


Fig. 2. Stele in Princeton



Fig. 3. The Colossus of Fêng-hsien Ssü and Four Attendants

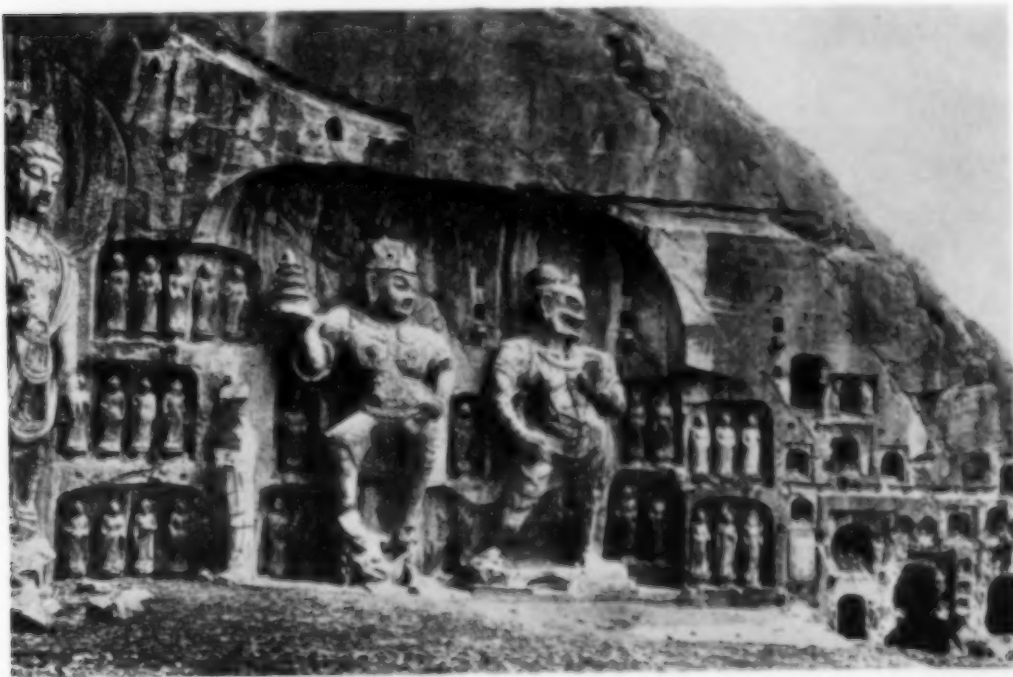


Fig. 4. The Guardians at Fêng-hsien Ssü, on Buddha's Left



Fig. 5. The Amitābha Trinity at Hua-t'a Ssü

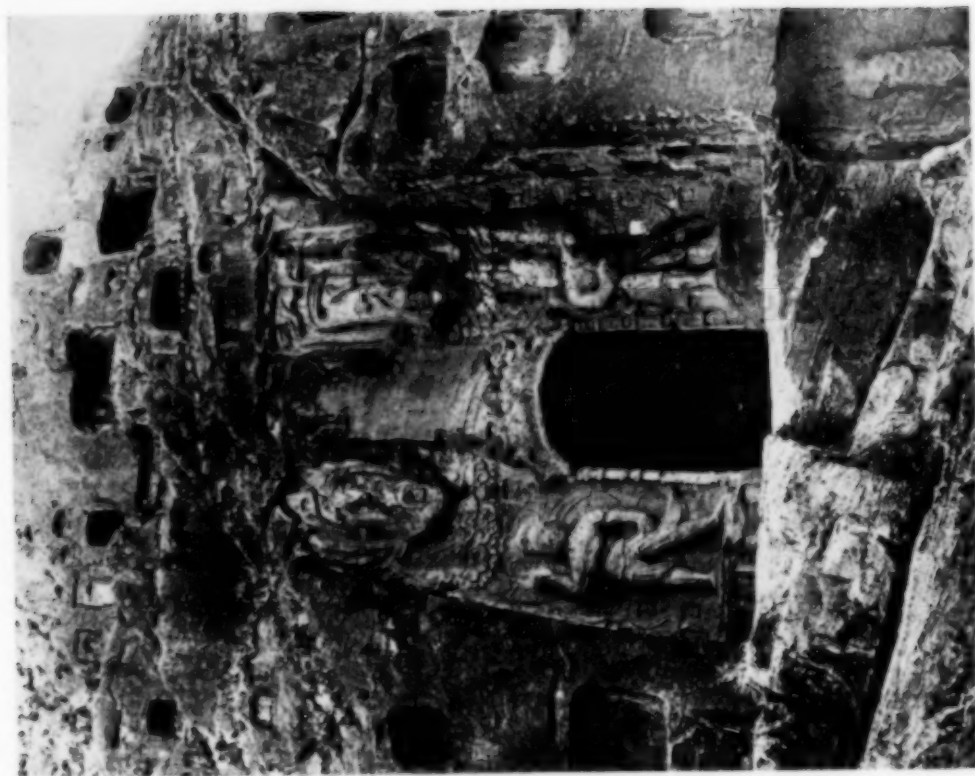


Fig. 6. Exterior of Yao-fang Tung



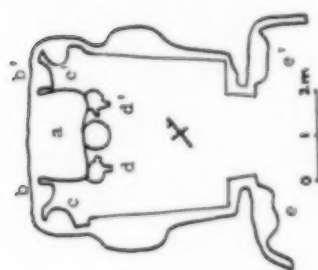


Fig. 8. *Plan of Yao-fang Tung*  
(after Miduno-Nagahiro, fig. 76)

- a Buddha
- b, b' Disciples
- c, c' Buddhisattvas
- d, d' Lions
- e, e' Guardians and Apsaras

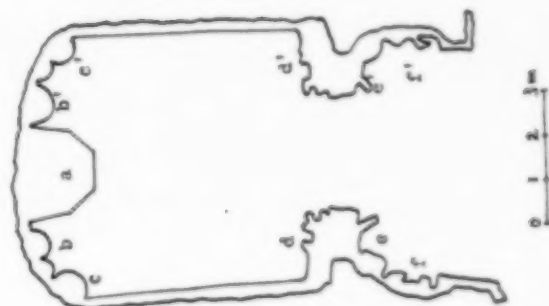


Fig. 9. *Plan of Wang-fo Tung*  
(after Miduno-Nagahiro, fig. 29)

- a Buddha
- b, b' Disciples
- c, c' Buddhisattvas
- d, d' Deva-Kings
- e, e' Guardians
- f, f' Lions

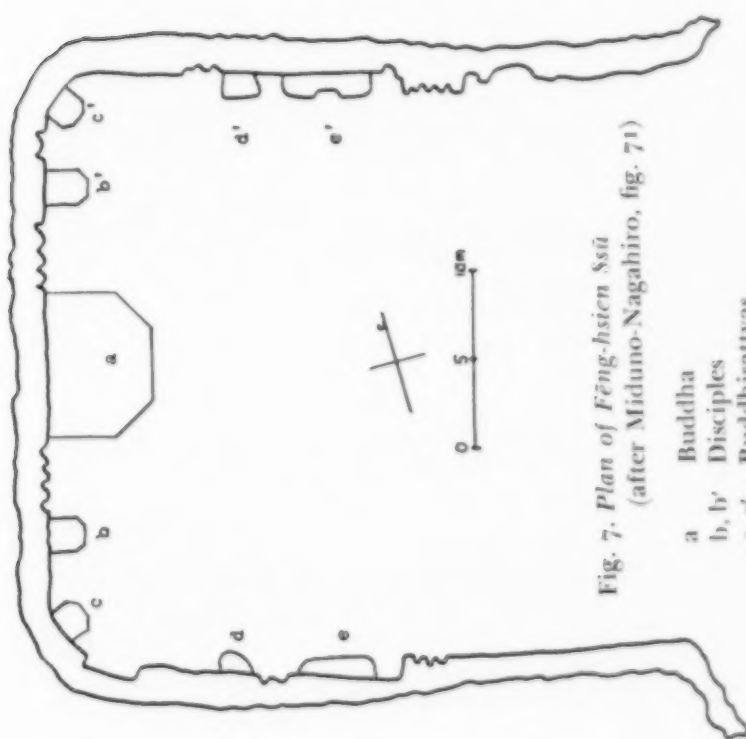


Fig. 7. *Plan of Feng-hsien Ssü*  
(after Miduno-Nagahiro, fig. 71)

- a Buddha
- b, b' Disciples
- c, c' Buddhisattvas
- d, d' Deva-Kings
- e, e' Guardians



Fig. 10. Back Wall of Wang-fang Tung



Fig. 11. Paradise of Amitabha, Cave 139, Tun Huang



Fig. 12. Detail of Stele in New York

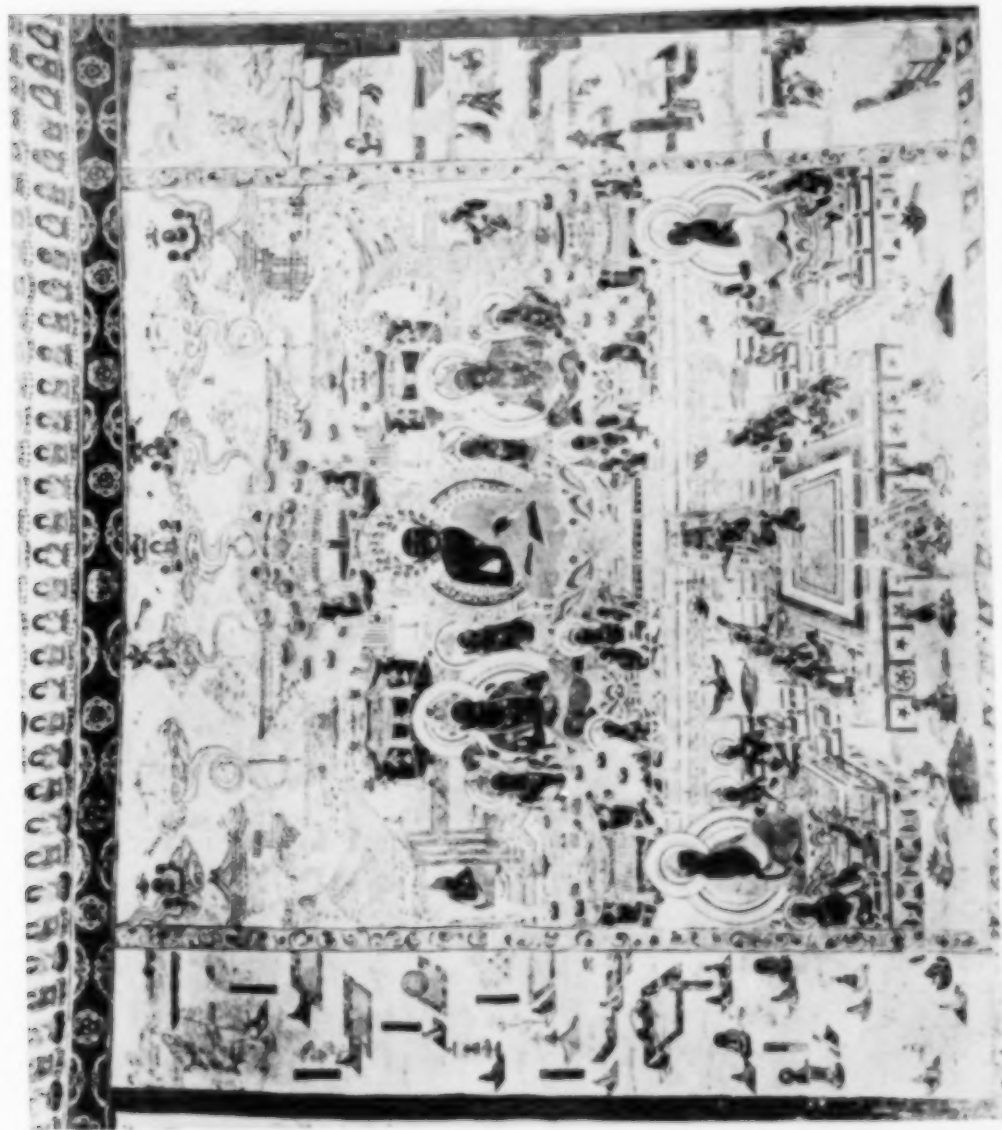


Fig. 13. Paradise of Amitābha, Cave 146, Tun Huang



Fig. 14. The Amitābha Triad from the Tachibana Shrine, Hōryūji



Fig. 15. Diagram of the Paradise on the North-western Wall, Hōryūji Kondō



and Buddhisattvas, instead of one's 'self-power') as means for salvation.<sup>60</sup> The philosophy of paradise pictures as vehicles for meditation is clear in Tao-hsüan's account of the invention of the image of "Amitābha Accompanied by Fifty Buddhisattvas":

"It is said that long ago the monk Gotsū-bosatsu of the Keitomaji (Kukkutārāma) in India went to Amitābha's paradise and enquired of Amitābha as follows: 'The beings of the world below long to be born in this pure land. But without images of the Buddha, there is nothing for the strength of their desire to operate by. Therefore I beg you to grant your permission.'"<sup>61</sup>

We first meet the doctrine of "Meditation on Buddha" in *Buddhadhyāna-samādhisāgara-sūtra*, which was translated into Chinese as *Kuan Fo San-mei Hai Ching* by Buddhahadra in the early years of the fifth century.<sup>62</sup> In the inscription of the Princeton stele, this activity of *Kuan San-mei* (practicing the *samādhi*) is attributed to Buddha; and as a good example of the use of "the other-power," the inscription goes on to pray that "those who have heard (of Buddha) are freed from the bondage of this world; those who invoke (Buddha's name) all rise to that way of awakening." We must not forget that the task of the carving of the stone is in itself also a religious "merit," a further use of the "other-power" on the way to one's salvation.<sup>63</sup>

In the West, the famous justification for the existence of religious pictures is Pope Gregory's ". . . so that those who are illiterate may at least by seeing upon the walls read that which they are unable to read in books."<sup>64</sup> We believe that the Princeton stele as an important historical document will need no apologies.

Wen Fong

<sup>60</sup> de Visser, *op. cit.*, p. 318.

<sup>61</sup> Translation following Naitō, Acker-Rowland, *op. cit.*, pp. 143-144.

<sup>62</sup> Nanjio, 430; Taishō, 15, p. 615 f.

<sup>63</sup> Painting religious pictures and transcribing sūtras were also regarded as "merits." For the context of printing Buddhist charms and sūtras for "merits" in the eighth and ninth centuries, see Hu Shih, "The Gest Oriental Library at Princeton University," *The Princeton University Library Chronicle*, XV, Spring 1954, no. 3, pl. 122.

<sup>64</sup> Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, LIIIV, 1027-28:

"Idcirco enim pictura in Ecclesiis adhibetur, ut hi qui litteras nesciunt, saltem in parietibus videndo legant quae legere in Codicibus non valent."

## ACQUISITIONS

Announcement of the following objects, received by gift and purchase during 1953, was deferred from Volume XIII, 1, to this issue:

### SCULPTURE

- Portrait head, Roman, 1st century A.D. *The C. O. von Kienbusch, Jr., Memorial.*  
St. Catherine; wood; School of Troyes, circa 1520. *The C. O. von Kienbusch, Jr., Memorial.*  
Madonna and Child; Madonna of the Annunciation; Kneeling Madonna; polychrome wood; German, 15th century. *Bequest of Mrs. George McClellan.*  
Madonna and Child, after Desiderio da Settignano; Annunciation, 17th century Italian; polychrome stucco. *Bequest of Mrs. George McClellan.*  
Ceres and Diana; plaster figures; French, late 18th century. *Bequest of Mrs. George McClellan.*  
Antoine Bourdelle, "Poète et Pégase"; "La Reine de Saba"; "La Pathétique"; "Guerrier"; "Daumier"; "Jeanne d'Arc"; "La Vierge d'Alsace"; "Venus"; "Le Sphinx"; "Centaur"; all bronze. *Gift of J. Lionberger Davis '00.*  
Auguste Rodin, "Head of John the Baptist"; bronze. *Gift of J. L. Davis '00.*  
Constantin Meunier, "Miner"; bronze. *Gift of J. Lionberger Davis '00.*  
Ivan Mestrovic, "Mother Teaching her Child to Pray"; bronze. *Gift of J. Lionberger Davis '00.*  
Jan Stursa, "Wounded Soldier"; bronze. *Gift of J. Lionberger Davis '00.*

### PAINTING

- Dolia Lorian, "Sky, Smoke and City." *Gift of the Committee for Dolia Lorian.*  
Charles Herbert Moore, "Winter Landscape." *Gift of Frank Jewett Mather, Jr.*  
Abbot Thayer, "Mt. Monadnock." *Gift of Frank Jewett Mather, Jr.*  
Ferdinand Bol, "Alexander before Diogenes." *The C. O. von Kienbusch, Jr., Memorial.*  
J. J. Eckhoudt, "The Death of William the Silent." *Gift of Mrs. L. T. Getty.*  
Old copy of Gerhard Honthorst, "The Concert." *Gift of Donald B. Fullerton '13.*  
Jan Provost, "Angel." *Museum Purchase.*  
Master of 1518, "Holy Family." *Bequest of Mrs. George McClellan.*  
Contemporary copy after Roger van der Weyden, "Madonna and Child." *Exchange, by permission, of gift of Maitland F. Griggs.*  
James Bogdani, "Still Life." *The C. O. von Kienbusch, Jr., Memorial.*  
Anonymous English, late 18th century, "Portrait of an Officer." *Gift of Bernard Peyton '17.*  
Jean Léon Gérôme, "Napoleon in Egypt." *Museum Purchase (The John Maclean Magie and Gertrude Magie Fund).*  
Mathieu (?) LeNain, "Two Boys Drawing." *Museum Purchase (The Caroline G. Mather Fund).*  
Adolph Monticelli, "Garden Party." *Gift of J. Lionberger Davis '00.*  
Italian, 15th century, "Madonna and Child." *Bequest of Mrs. George McClellan.*  
Two Chinese Paintings, Ch'ing Dynasty. *The C. O. von Kienbusch, Jr., Memorial.*

### POTTERY

- Attic red-figure chous and lekythos, South Italian red-figure lekythos. *Museum Purchase (The Caroline G. Mather Fund).*  
Six bowls and jars: Persian, 11th-13th century. *Gift of Gilbert S. McClintock '08.*  
Seventeen fragments of Hispano-Moresque, Islamic, and Turkish pottery. *Gift of S. Beach Jones '43.*

### METAL

- Bronze Horus Hawk; Egyptian, Saitic Period. *The C. O. von Kienbusch, Jr., Memorial.*
- Bronze lion; South Italian, 5th century B.C. *Museum Purchase (The John Maclean Magie and Gertrude Magie Fund).*
- Silver panther; Persian, Hellenistic Period. *The C. O. von Kienbusch, Jr., Memorial.*
- Bronze hare; Ibero-Roman. *The C. O. von Kienbusch, Jr., Memorial.*
- St. Peter; bronze, Italian, 13th century. *Museum Purchase (The Caroline G. Mather Fund).*
- Bronze hu; Chinese, period of the Warring States. *Gift of J. Lionberger Davis '00.*
- Three zoomorphic ritual vessels; Chinese Ming Dynasty. *Gift of J. Lionberger Davis '00.*
- Hara-kiri knife; relief ornament; Japanese, 19th century. *Gift of Mrs. W. D. Williams.*

### DRAWINGS

- Mary Cassatt, "Femme au Chapeau," pastel. *Gift of Mrs. Roland T. Ely.*
- 7 drawings by William Glackens, C. de Fornaro Mascagni, A. B. Frost, and Wallace Morgan. *Gift of Frank Jewett Mather, Jr.*
- 2 drawings by Thomas Rowlandson. *Gift of Everett E. Rogerson.*
- 24 French drawings by Jacques Courtois, Étienne de Laune, Pierre Raymond, Israel Silvestre, and others. *Gift of Frank Jewett Mather, Jr.*
- 43 Italian drawings by Francesco Guardi, G. B. Tiepolo, and others. *Gift of Frank Jewett Mather, Jr.*
- Drawings by Giuseppe Galli Bibiena, Giovanni Battista Pittone, G. B. Tiepolo, and Francesco Solimena. *Museum Purchase (The Laura P. Hall Memorial Fund).*
- Ambrogio Figino, "Study of Nude." *Museum Purchase.*
- 5 anonymous Dutch, Flemish, and Spanish drawings. *Gift of Frank Jewett Mather, Jr.*
- 2 drawings by Hendrick Meyer. *Museum Purchase (The Laura P. Hall Memorial Fund).*

### PRINTS

- 10 prints by Frank W. Benson, Emil Ganso, William S. Gisch, Henry G. Keller, Rockwell Kent, J. J. Lankes, Louis Lozowicki, and Rudolph Ruzicka. *Gift of William M. Milliken '11.*
- 2 etchings by Edmund Blampied and Orovida Pissarro. *Gift of William M. Milliken '11.*
- 7 prints by Currier and Ives, Thomas Rowlandson, Georges Rouault, Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, Leopold Mendez, Pablo Picasso. *Gift of Everett E. Rogerson.*
- 6 lithographs by Toulouse-Lautrec. *Gift of Mrs. Roland T. Ely.*

### MISCELLANEOUS

- Ivory Goose; Japanese, 19th century. *Gift of Mrs. Lewis Stillwell.*
- Lacquer mirror case; Persian, 19th century. *Gift of Gilbert S. McClintock '08.*
- Haematite weight in form of goose. Elamite. *Museum Purchase (The Caroline G. Mather Fund).*
- Ivory relief of Madonna and Child; French, 14th century. *Museum Purchase (The John Maclean Magie and Gertrude Magie Fund).*

## THE ART MUSEUM • PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

The Art Museum, a section of the Department of Art and Archaeology of Princeton University, is intended to form a visible epitome of the history of art from earliest times to the present, that is, to cover the ground of the teaching by the Department.

The Museum is open daily from 10 A.M. to 12 noon, 2 to 4:30 P.M., Sundays from 2 to 5 P.M.; it is closed Thanksgiving Day, December 24-25, 31, January 1, Easter weekend, and during the months of July and August. Visits may be arranged by appointment.

### RECORD

The *Record* is published twice yearly. There is no subscription fee. Inquiries and requests may be addressed to the Editor, Miss Jones.

### THE FRIENDS OF THE MUSEUM

The Friends of the Museum was organized in the Spring of 1950 to promote a wider interest in The Art Museum among alumni and friends, among the University and other communities; to enlarge the purchasing funds of the Museum in order to round out the collections with objects of quality useful in the teaching of the Department as well as for the enjoyment of the visiting public; to attract gifts of museum quality and to assist in the effort to obtain eventually a new building so very much needed for the adequate display of collections. Special lectures and exhibitions are arranged for the Friends. Annual memberships begin at five dollars. Inquiries may be addressed to any member of the Staff.

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